

THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

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WAGES OF KHAKI WORKERS: An Employer's Protest

On October 7th a letter from Dr. Barbara Tchaykovsky appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* referring to the Army clothing scandals and the Judge's comment that the department is conducted "on methods that would bring a private firm to bankruptcy."

Dr. Tchaykovsky wrote:—

But as this particular firm happens to be the nation, with apparently unlimited resources as far as mere money is concerned, it seems only right that it should realise the bankruptcy of life that lies behind its methods.

The following table appeared in the *Toynbee Record* for January, 1915, in an article called "Military tailoring in the East End," wherein it was stated that the wages quoted would vary from 16s. for girl finishers to about 43 to 45 10s. for men fitters and machinists for a 55-hour week. [The Tailoring Trade Board stipulate that the piece rates paid must yield a minimum rate of 3 1/4d. per hour to "average workers" (women), and 6d. per hour to "average workers" (men).] One must remember too that outworkers provide their own rooms, lighting, and heating:—

	Gt. coats.	Jackets.	Trousers.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
All materials	17 7 93	7 1 77	6 2 75
Pd. to subcontractors for making up	3 3	2 9	0 10
Total	20 11	9 10 1/2	7 0 1/2
Pd. by War Office for made-up garment	25 0	12 6	8 9
Gross profit per garment to contractor	7 1	2 7 1/2	1 1 1/2
Cost to contractor:			
Wages	2 1 1/2	2 1 1/2	0 7 1/2
Recd. from contractor	3 3	2 9	0 10
Gross profit per garment to sub-contractor	0 11 1/2	0 7 1/2	0 1 1/2

—From *Toynbee Record*.

Profit per outfit of three garments to contractor 7s. 1d. plus 2s. 7 1/2d. plus 1s. 8 1/2d. equals 11s. 4 1/2d.

Profit on one million outfits over £500,000.

PROTEST BY WHOLESALE CLOTHIER.

A Manchester "Wholesale Clothier" replied to this letter protesting that the figures given in the *Toynbee Record* for January, 1915, were "immediately disproved" by the Trade papers. The writer says that "the flat rate for greatcoats was for a very short time 28s., that as 'direct' contracts could not be obtained by others, 'the whole trade gathered round' one firm and made the goods for 25s. and 26s. He continues:—

"Your correspondent omits to say that immediately after this 'sub-contracting' was abolished and every garment had to be made on the premises of the contractor. As to the absurd profit of 7s. 1d., shown in the *Toynbee* table

we may say that we have made tens of thousands of these greatcoats at a profit of roughly 1s. per coat. . . . We cannot speak of the East End of London, but we can of Manchester and our own women on this work were earning from 30s. to 60s. a week, and our men 43 to 46 per week."

Thirty shillings a week works out at 7 1/4d. an hour for a forty-eight hour week. Since he alleges that this is the minimum that he pays, is "Wholesale Clothier" prepared to assent that the clothing Trade Boards shall raise the minimum wage for women workers to 7d. per hour?

MEDICAL OFFICER REPLIES.

A Medical Officer of Health for one of the East London Boroughs who has seen the corres-



A WOMAN STOKER.

pondence in the *Manchester Guardian*, writes to us as follows:—

"Whilst it is quite true that the *Trade Journal* challenged the figures of the *Toynbee Record*, as trade journals always do, and whilst it is further true that an order was made some time since forbidding Army contractors from sub-contracting, the fact remains that, as a consequence of the sub-contracting not having stopped, the sub-letting and repeated sweating of works at every stage continued and to some extent continues even to-day."

THE TRAIL OF THE WAR

A BRAVE WOMAN.

On October 13th, Rose Rogers and David, her four-month's babe were taken off to Holloway Prison for a month, because the mother refused to register her child in "a conscript State." The father is in prison as a conscientious objector.

Not content with one charge and sentence of fourteen days for "neglecting to register, etc., the authorities doubled the sentence by adding another fourteen days for refusing to "give information for registration purposes."

To cap this, when a form was applied for upon which to make a "statutory declaration" against vaccination, it was refused on the ground that "the child was not registered."

Is this the beginning of the great fight which British mothers will make to throw off the shackles of conscription which have been riveted upon their sons?

SOLDIER'S DESTITUTE MOTHER SUMMONED.

Irish *Opinion* reports that at Bray Petty Sessions Mrs. Marie Kerins, was summoned by the School Attendance Officer for failing to send her two children, aged 13 and 7, to school; she stated that:—

Two of her sons had been killed in action, and another was at the front. Her husband was dead, and she had to work to support herself and the children, whom she could only feed but was unable to clothe well enough to send them to school.

Replying to the Chairman, Mrs. Kerins said she got no compensation for the death of her two sons. She had been getting an allowance of 4s. 11d. a week from her other son, who was a soldier before the War broke out, but she had got nothing since January last, when he was transferred from the Connaught Rangers to the R.I.F. She had got Miss Le Fanu and others to write about the allowance. She was quite destitute. She was told at the post office that she would get no more allowance; her bank was called in, and they gave her no reason.

A C.O. awaiting court-martial at Fovant writes:—

"The men here, particularly the officers, are so much more liberal-minded than the 'Island Pharisees' outside. The soldiers are frankly 'fed up.' . . . They sing a parody of 'Everything to God in Prayer,' commencing 'When this wicked war is over, O how happy I shall be. No more discipline and orders, no more soldiering for me. I give God thanks for the chance of playing my little part in 'the war which will end war.'"

CALLOUS TREATMENT OF A DUMB MAN.

A young man, age 31, was shot through the lungs and entirely lost his speech. He was awarded a pension of 18s. 9d. He came to consult us about getting the full pension of 25s., to which he was entitled. He was examined by our doctor here, who told us his nerves were in such a dangerous condition that he feared most serious results. As the ex-soldier was unable to live on 18s. 9d., he obtained work at Gray's Chemical Factory on February 24th, which position he kept until April, 1916. On accepting employment he enquired whether this would interfere with his pension and was told not. The gas used in the Gray's Chemical Works affected his lungs and he frequently fainted, and eventually became quite unable to work. Whether the gas would have affected him had his nervous condition not been dangerous, and had the wound in his lung so healed over as to have ceased to give him pain, we do not know, but the result is that he has become paralysed on the right side, is quite unable to use his right hand and has lost all power on his right side from the waist upwards. He is suffering much pain and brings up clots of phlegm as large as his fist. He does not appear to have full control over his left arm, and is altogether in a most pitiable condition. He was offered a post as book-binding at 30s. a week, but naturally he was unable to take this. As soon as the Chelsea

"This is perfectly well known to Public Health Officers who visit outworkers' homes, and it is also well known in several cases to travelling and other inspectors appointed by the War Office for making enquiries into the same; and as a matter of fact it is not so long since in the East-End here that some firms have been struck off and others have been prosecuted for breaches of various orders, all made with a view to checking this seditious sub-contracting and sweating at every successive stage."

"I know nothing about the conditions in Manchester, of course, and they may be as rosy as 'Wholesale Clothier' suggests, but when he advises other people to be accurate as to their facts and data, he should also apply the same remarks to himself."

FACTS FROM MANCHESTER.

Mr. George K. Grierson, Chairman of the Manchester Women's War Interests Committee writes in regard to Manchester rates:—

By selecting a rate paid for common work, or, worse still, for sale goods, a wage will be obtained of 10s. and 11s. for a week of fifty hours; with the cost of living as it is at present this is not merely a low wage, but is gross sweating. On the other hand, by taking the best rates for the goods a wage is obtained of 25s. or 30s. a week. . . . taking the average a woman with a week of mixed work, common and high grade, earns about a pound. . . . Unfortunately, this does not settle the matter. . . . All the branches of the trade are seasonal, and during the slack periods the women do not earn anything approaching a living wage. They are expected to stand by their machines and wait for the work to come in, which prevents them from seeking work elsewhere. A woman may in this way spend a whole week in the shop and earn only two days' wages. In some branches of the trade, the work cannot even be called seasonal; it is merely irregular, the workers not knowing from week to week whether they will be on full time or "playing." The normal hours worked are very much too long. In one firm, the women are employed from eight till one and from two till seven—that is, two stretches of five hours. No tea interval is allowed, and any attempt to take one is rigidly suppressed."

EMPTY ADVICE.

The Health of Munition Workers' Committee has issued a report on what the workers ought to eat, based on investigations by Mr. John Hill, M.B., F.R.S., who recommends the following for women and girls:—

Breakfast.—Two eggs, two rashers bacon, two slices bread, butter, and jam, sugar, milk; dinner.—roast beef, potatoes, cabbage, syrup roll; tea.—three slices bread, butter, and jam, lettuce or radishes, sugar, milk; supper.—two slices bread and butter, ham, cheese.

How are such meals to be bought on Mr. Lloyd George's fixed wage scale, which ranges from 2 1/4d. to 4 1/4d. an hour?

The men of the Stoll Syndicate Music-Halls are on strike for higher pay. Efforts are being made to induce women to replace them under false pretences. We urge the women not to blackleg.

Authorities heard of this, they cut down his pension from 18s. 9d. to 12s. 6d. When we wrote on his behalf, we were told that his pension had been cut down because he had been offered work at 30s. a week, and had refused it on the ground that the money was insufficient. This statement appears to be untrue. As the man is very difficult to communicate with, it was, perhaps, thought that he made signs to this effect, but words are unnecessary to explain this case to anyone who has seen him. The fact that he is attending the London Hospital and is having electrical treatment should in itself be proof that he cannot work. In any case, to cut down a man's pension because he refuses a wage which he thinks inadequate ought not to be the policy of the War Office, and is, we believe, contrary to pledges that have been given.

When the ex-soldier applied to the local committee for an additional grant, the Secretary objected "that he had married since his discharge and that his wife could not expect to be kept"; the man was only asking for the promised 25s. per week!

Mr. John Galsworthy in *The Times* writes:—

"Wonderful things are being done by the State to restore men to the Army, to re-make them into soldiers; but nothing coherent is up to now being done by the State, before it parts with control to restore men to civil life, —useful and contented citizens."

In *The Clarion* a headline in Mrs. Alex. M. Thompson's leading article reads: "A Capital Cure for War Fever." If only *The Clarion* would take it!

The Government has taken over the wheat; get the price of bread this year up another halfpenny!

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND

THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

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Sat., October 21st, 1916

Bravely and willingly we bear our share of the
World's burdens. Why, then, deny us the right to
Vote, which would dignify our labour and increase
our Power of Service?

THE FRANCHISE CONFERENCE

The intimation by Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Bonar Law that the Government intends to proceed with the Special Register Bill and with a Bill so to amend the Ballot Act as to enable soldiers and sailors and munition workers to record their votes, appears tantamount to the throwing over of those who are endeavouring to secure adult manhood and womanhood suffrage, a cause to which Mr. Asquith has expressed adherence, but in the case of which the Government has merely appointed a Conference. If action is intended to result from the deliberations of the Conference, there is no need either for the Special Register Bill or for the Ballot Act Amendment Bill.

The question as to whether the Government seriously intends to allow the franchise conference to result in action is vividly raised by the discussion which took place in the House at question time on October 12th. Sir Francis Lowe then asked:—

"Will the Report of the Committee that is considering the question of registration and the franchise be received before the Bill is framed?"

Much cause for thought is provided by Mr. Asquith's evasive and irresponsible answer: "That question should be addressed to the Speaker." Moreover we should ask ourselves what is the significance of Sir Edward Carson's gibe:

"You mean will it be received before the War is over?"

It must be remembered that Sir Edward Carson is associated with the group of reactionary politicians who wrecked the Home Rule Settlement and induced Members of the Government to recede from its pledges to the Irish Party. These reactionaries are well-known to be opposed to Woman's Suffrage as well as to Home Rule. Sir Edward Carson promised votes to women under the provisional Government for Ulster, which he threatened to set up in order to frustrate Home Rule in the days before the War. But this was done to secure the adherence of women to a rebel Government, the existence of which must of necessity be precarious and for which he therefore strove to secure every possible atom of support. During the War, as a member of a noisy majority, Sir Edward has shown markedly contemptuous hostility towards votes for women whenever the question has been raised.

There is grave reason to fear that Mr. Asquith and the other Cabinet Ministers who have declared in support of Adult Suffrage have already sold the pass to Lords Curzon and Cromer and the other Antis.

But we must not forget that Governments are always open to pressure, and that pressure may come from the people demanding votes as well as from the reactionaries who oppose every extension of popular liberty. It is our business to out-do the pressure of the reactionary wire-pullers by bringing to bear the pressure of a strong and well-organised popular demand.

We are told that only agreed measures can now be dealt with by the House, except those which are essential to the actual prosecution of the War. Presumably it is because manhood and womanhood suffrage is not yet hall-marked as a non-contentious question (though in all conscience it ought to be) that it is relegated to a conference instead of being dealt with now that the overhauling of the franchise machine is in process. Therefore, the proper course for those who desire to secure the enactment of a measure to enfranchise the whole people is to signify to the Government that they cannot, under present circumstances, accept either the Special Register Bill or the Ballot Act Amendment Bill as an agreed measure.

Adult Suffragists and Woman Suffragists, both in and out of Parliament, should press this view upon the Prime Minister. If the Suffragists must

await the result of the Conference, let the anti-Suffragists wait also. To arrange otherwise is to play into the hands of the antis, who once they have secured the adjustment of the electoral machinery that they desire will have no compunction in wrecking a popular Franchise Bill.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

ADULT SUFFRAGE JOINT COMMITTEE.

Chairman: Mr. Fred Bramley, 58 Theobalds Road, W.C.
Hon. Treasurer: Dr. A. Salter, 5 Storks Rd., Bermondsey.
Hon. Secretary: Miss E. Sylvia Pankhurst, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

At a conference in the Chandos Hall on Sunday, October 15th, the following resolution was passed unanimously:—

"That this Conference demands that the special Register Bill and the Ballot Act Amendment Bill be postponed until such time as the Government is prepared to introduce a measure to enfranchise every adult man and woman."

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

In Liverpool a joint committee of Magistrates and members of the Education Committee, made, amongst others, the following recommendations:

Justices should be given power, by legislation to order whipping for boys up to 16 years, and the number of strokes should be increased to 12. This power should apply to all offences committed by boys.

Definite statutory provision should be made empowering schoolmasters and mistresses to punish scholars who misconduct themselves out of school.

That such measures should be recommended in a country that boasts of being "the most humane country in the world," makes one see that war is extending its brutalising effects.

T.N.T. AGAIN

Lydia Elizabeth Gibson, employed by the Government and sent from Woolwich to act as examiner at a munition factory, died in St. Bartholomew's Hospital of T.N.T. poisoning the other day. An inquest was held on October 13th, at which her husband, a lance-corporal in the Lancashire Fusiliers, stated that she earned 37s. a week and overtime. He said that she did not wear either gloves or a respirator, that the overalls provided did not prevent the poison getting to her body, and that milk, recommended as a preventive, was not supplied to the workers at the factory till October 9th. Another lady examiner who gave evidence, said that she had no instructions to wear a respirator. The Home Office medical inspector stated that until Mrs. Gibson's death the Woolwich examiners were not brought under the regulations adopted to protect the workers from poisoning, but that now a director was taking charge of such matters. Second-Lieutenant J. Templeton, inspecting officer for various factories, said that there was no order that girls should wear gloves. Death was due to disease of the liver and fatty degeneration of the heart and kidneys, caused by T.N.T.

On October 14th, an inquest was held in East London on Annie Kate Newson, aged 38, a worker in a T.N.T. shed, who was engaged in mixing T.N.T. with another ingredient. She died in hospital of acute atrophy of the liver due to T.N.T. Special precautions were taken, the women were supplied with special dresses, and hot water for washing, and there was said to be an abundance of fresh air. Dr. Christine Pillman said that respirators were not used, as the arguments against them were stronger than those in their favour. Meals could be got at the canteen, milk was brought round to the sheds. T.N.T. may be inhaled or absorbed through the skin, so dangerous is it that at the inquest on Mrs. Gibson the managing director of the factory stated that some workers could not work for an hour with the T.N.T. powder, and that a man who cut grass could not work near the T.N.T. sheds without feeling ill effects.

TRADE UNION INSPECTORS

The Woolcombers Trade Union demanded as a condition of agreeing to the employment of women woolcombers on the night turn that the Union's officials shall be allowed to visit the factories where the women are employed. The Employers Federation has refused to agree to this demand and the Home Office also opposed it. The *Yorkshire Observer* stated that the Home Office opposition is due to the fear of the factory inspectors that their prestige will suffer if trade unions employ inspectors of their own.

In our view the demand of the trade union is a most wise one and we hope that the example will be followed by other unions.

A mass meeting of women workers engaged in controlled establishments on the River Wear and district was held in the Co-operative Hall, Green Street, Sunderland. Mr. Will Sherwood, organiser, showed that women working on time-work were receiving £1 and doing equally as well as men getting 28s. In the case of machine work, on time women were paid £1 for work for which men formerly got 30s. to 36s. per week. Women engaged in the shipbuilding industries on the Wear were getting a maximum of £1 where men got 30s. to 38s. a week.

The meeting unanimously passed a resolution endorsing the action of the National Union of General Workers in making an application for advances in wages in engineering and shipbuilding industries, and trusting the union would use all and every means to accomplish that object.

The Cleveland and Durham Blast Furnacemen's Association has demanded that women shall not be employed in iron works until the work has been passed as suitable by a woman inspector.

MOTHERS' PENSIONS

Judge Neil, of Chicago, who has been active in the campaign for securing pensions for widows and other destitute mothers in the United States, is on a visit to this country. Widowed mothers' pensions now obtain in 27 out of 48 states. In Michigan the pensions are paid also to the mothers of illegitimate children, who are filed as deserted mothers. In 1898 a law was adopted in many states empowering the authorities to take charge of children whose mothers could not afford to house and feed them properly. It cost about 30 dollars (£6) a month to keep each of these children in an institution. By giving mothers' pensions the children only cost the State 10 dollars (£2) a month per head. Judge Neil is also agitating for a grant to mothers to be made for 3 months before and 2 months after the birth of each child.

WHAT A SHIP IS WORTH

Readers of the DREADNOUGHT who are given many reasons why their bread and other necessities of life are dearer will understand a little more about it when they consider the high prices paid for ships. According to the *Scottish Field* ships are selling exceptionally well just now. Here are the prices. "Scottish Glen," iron ship, 1,977 tons, sold in February, 1910, for about £3,000, now sold for about £47,250. After six years wear and tear the ship has appreciated by over £44,000. The "Alcides," 2,492 tons, sold January, 1912, for £6,100, has recently fetched £66,750, an increase of over £60,000, and after four years more work. The "Cossack" is also interesting. Of 2,326 tons, she sold in March, 1908, for £7,250, but her recent "war price" was £83,500, showing that after eight years' journeying she increased in value by over £76,000. Even after less than a year there were tremendous advances. Consider the "Scarpino," 1,776 tons, which changed hands in October, 1915, at £33,250; she has now been sold again for £78,000. What a tale of freights these prices reveal!

Mr. John Hill, of the Boilermakers' Society, says that advances of wages in the Society amount to less than 15 per cent. since July, 1914. One prosperous shipbuilding company made a profit of 70 per cent.

Women and girls in Norwich textile factories struck work for a war bonus. Boys in Norwich boot factories followed suit and paraded the streets.

A milk boycott by women near Haverfordwest compelled the vendors to take all their milk home unsold.

At Henley-on-Thames the dairymen who recently raised the price of milk from 5d. to 6d. a quart reverted to the former figure following the announcement of a dairy farmer who has just come into the district of his intention to sell milk at the lower rate.

THE BODKIN POSTER

From the verbatim report of Edward Fuller's case we learn that the real accusation was: "For that he, on the 27th August, did unlawfully attempt and did an act preparatory to the commission of an act prohibited by the Defence of the Realm (Consolidation) Regulations, 1914, to wit, making, in print, statements likely to prejudice recruiting, discipline, and administration of His Majesty's military forces." The prosecution arose from the fact that Mr. Fuller wrote sending the fatal poster "War would become impossible if all men were to have the view that war is wrong" to a bill-poster in Stratford, who immediately sent it to the War Office to find out whether its publication would be permitted.

It is an extraordinary thing that a person may be sent to prison for such a cause.

THE PERSECUTION OF BERTRAND RUSSELL

The Army Council's extraordinary persecution of Mr. Bertrand Russell has led them to refuse to allow him to enter Glasgow to deliver a course of lectures there. A protest meeting at which the Lord Provost of Glasgow and Mr. Robert Smillie will speak, will replace the lecture. This move of the Army Council has provided an excellent advertisement of the peace and anti-compulsion movement. Some pacifist on the Council has perhaps arranged it!

THE PORTOBELLO MURDERS

The Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the murder of Mr. Sheehy Skeffington and others has expressed the view that "apart from insanity, there can be no excuse or palliation for Capt. Bowen-Colthurst's conduct from first to last." The Commissioners add:—

"We think it right to say that, in our opinion, it is a circumstance highly regrettable and most surprising that, after the events of April 26th (when the shootings took place), Capt. Bowen-Colthurst should have found himself free to act, in company with a body of soldiers, as he did on the following Friday" (April 28th).

The matter ought not to end here. Capt. Bowen-Colthurst's superiors are involved in the business. What have they to say, and what have the Government and the people to say to them?

THE SACRED PROFITEER

The German Socialist paper, *Vorwärts*, is said to have been suppressed for the following comment upon an indictment of the German Chancellor by a group of capitalists and coal and iron monopolists who wish to retain Belgium and Northern France, and who accuse the Government of weakness:—

"they fear that a 'premature' peace would put an end to their war profits. Because their profits are at stake they rave at the 'weakness' and the 'damping measures' of the Government, and demand a war to exhaustion, to lunacy, without any regard for the consequences. Of course, considerations of internal policy also play their part. The magnates of large industries, like the magnates of large landed estates, are terrified at the idea of a possible democratisation in the sphere of domestic politics."

The amazing Mr. Glover, of the anti-German Union, whose principal occupation appears to be that of smashing other people's meetings, and to whom the columns of the "Daily Express" are ever open, contributes an article to that journal on the National Council for Adult Suffrage. He enumerates the members of the Committee relegating them mostly to the U.D.C., the N.C.C.L., the F.O.R., or the N.C.F., for Mr. George Lansbury and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst this imaginative gentleman reserves the special distinction of being "the two politicians who were largely responsible for those industrial troubles got up to smash the Military Service Act, which led to organised disturbance at Mr. Lloyd George's meeting at Glasgow, on Christmas-Day."

The Council for Christian Witness on Social Questions has issued a manifesto on the moral and spiritual causes of Labour unrest in which it is urged that "personality and fellowship alike require that Labour shall have a voice in the regulation of industry as a permanent arrangement and not as an occasional concession."

Mr. Harold Begbie has just published a "Vindication of Great Britain," but surely his book should be called a "Vindication of the Asquith Government."

ESSAY COMPETITION.

Mr. Wilfrid Wilson Gibson's judgment on the Essay Competition, "Who suffers most by the War?" will appear in our next week's issue.

THE WAR CONSCIENCE: By Jane Addams

I was sharply reminded of an obvious division between high tradition and current conscience in several conversations I held during the great European War with women who had sent their sons to the front in unquestioning obedience to the demands of the state, but who, owing to their own experiences, had found themselves in the midst of that ever-recurring struggle, often tragic and bitter, between two conceptions of duty, one of which is antagonistic to the other.

One such woman who had long been identified with the care of delinquent children and had worked for years toward the establishment of a children's court, had asked me many questions concerning the psychopathic clinic in the Juvenile Court in Chicago, comparing it with the brilliant work accomplished in her own city through the co-operation of the university faculty. The national government itself had recently recognised the value of this work, and at the outbreak of the War was rapidly developing a system through which the defective child might be discovered early in his school career, and not only be saved from delinquency but such restricted abilities as he possessed might be trained for the most effective use.

"Through all these years," this mother said, "I had grown accustomed to the fact that the government was deeply concerned in the welfare of the least promising child. I had felt my own efforts so identified with it that I had unconsciously come to regard government as an agency for nurturing human life, and I had apparently forgotten its more primitive functions. I was proud of the fact that my son held a state position as professor of industrial chemistry in the university, because I knew that the research in his department would ultimately tend to alleviate the harshness of factory conditions, and to make for the well-being of the working classes in whose children I had become so interested.

"When my son's regiment was mobilised and sent to the front I think it never occurred to me any more than it did to him to question his duty. His professional training made him a valuable member of the aviation corps, and when in those first weeks of high patriotism his letters reported successful scouting or even devastating raids, I felt only a solemn satisfaction.

"But gradually through the months when always more of the people's food supply and constantly more men were taken by the government for its military purposes, when I saw the state institutions for defectives closed, the schools abridged or dismissed, women and children put to work in factories under hours and conditions which had been prohibited years before, when the very governmental officials who had been so concerned for the welfare of the helpless were bent only upon the destruction of the enemy at whatever cost to their fellow citizens, the state itself gradually became for me an alien and hostile thing.

"In response to the appeal made by the government to the instinct of self-preservation, the men of the nation were ardent and eager to take any possible risks, to suffer every hardship, and were proud to give their lives in their country's service. But was it inevitable, I constantly asked myself, that the great nations of Europe should be reduced to such a primitive appeal? Why should they ignore all the other motives which enter into modern patriotism and are such an integral part of devotion to the state that they must in the end be reckoned with?

"I am sure that I had reached these conclusions before my own tragedy came, before my son was fatally wounded in a scouting aeroplane, and his body later thrown overboard into a lonely swamp. It was six weeks before I knew what had happened, and it was during that period that I felt most strongly the folly and waste of putting men, trained as my son had been, to the barbaric business of killing.

"This tendency in my thinking may have been due to a hint he had given me in the very last letter I ever received from him of a change that was taking place within himself. He wrote that whenever he heard the firing of a huge field piece he knew that the explosion consumed years of the taxes which had been slowly accumulated by some hard-working farmer or shopkeeper, and that he unconsciously calculated how fast industrial research could have gone forward had his department been given once a decade the costs of a single day of warfare, with the command to turn back into alleviation of the industrial conditions the taxes which the people had paid.

"He regretted that he was so accustomed to analysis that his mind would not let the general situation alone, but wearily went over it again and again; and then he added that this War was tearing down the conception of government which had been so carefully developed during this generation in the minds of the very men who had worked hardest to fulfil that conception.

"Although the letter sounded like a treatise on government, I knew there was a personal pang somewhere behind this sombre writing, even though he added his old joking promise that when their fathers were no longer killed in industry he would see what he could do for my little idiots.

"At the very end of the letter he wrote, and they were doubtless the last words he ever penned, that he felt as if science herself in this mad world had also become cruel and malignant. I learned later that it was at this time that he had been consulted in the manufacture of asphyxiating gases, because the same gases are used in industry, and he had already made experiments to determine their poisonousness in different degrees of dilution. The original investigation with which he had been identified had been carried on that the fumes released in a certain industrial process might be prevented from injuring the men who worked in the factory.

"I know how hard it must have been for him to put knowledge acquired in his long efforts to protect normal living to the brutal use of killing men. It was literally a forced act of prostitution."

As if to free her son's memory from any charge of lack of patriotism, after a few moments she continued: "These modern men of science are red-blooded, devoted patriots, facing dangers of every sort in mines and factories and leading strenuous lives, in spite of the popular conception of the pale anæmic scholar, but because they are equally interested in scientific experiments wherever they may be carried on, they inevitably cease to think of national boundaries in connection with their work.

"The international mind which really does exist, in spite of the fact that it is not yet equipped with adequate organs for international government, has become firmly established at least among scientists. They have known the daily stimulus of a wide and free range of contacts, they have become inter-penetrated with the human consciousness of fellow scientists all over the world.

"I hope that I am no whining coward. My son gave his life to his country as many another brave man has done, but I do envy the mothers whose grief is at least free from this fearful struggle of opposing ideals and traditions. My old father, who is filled with a solemn pride over his grandson's gallant record and death, is most impatient with me. I heard him telling a friend the other day that my present state of mind was a pure demonstration of the folly of higher education for women; that it was preposterous and more than human flesh could bear to combine an intellectual question on the function of government with a mother's sharp agony over the death of her child.

"He said he had always contended that women at least those who bear children, had no business to consider questions of this sort, and that the good sense of his position was demonstrated now that such women were losing their children in war. It was enough for women to know that governments waged war to protect their firesides and to preserve the nation from annihilation; at any rate, she should keep her mind free from silly attempts to reason it out. "It's all Berta von Suttner's book and other nonsense that the women are writing," he exploded at the end. . . .

"At times I feel immeasurably old, and in spite of my father's contention that I am too intellectual, I am consciously dominated by one of those overwhelming impulses belonging to women as such irrespective of their mental training in their revolt against war. After all, why should one disregard such imperative instincts? We know perfectly well that the trend of a given period in history has been influenced by 'habits of preference' and by instinctive actions founded upon repeated and unnoted experiences of an analogous kind; that 'desires to seek and desires to avoid' are in themselves the very incalculable material by which the tendencies of an age are modified.

"The women in all the belligerent countries who feel so alike in regard to the horror and human waste of this War, and yet refrain from speaking out, may be putting into jeopardy the power inherent in human affairs to right themselves through mankind's instinctive shifting toward what the satisfactions recommend and the antagonisms repulse. The expression of such basic impulses in regard to human relationships may be most important in this moment of warfare which is itself a reversion to primitive methods of determining relations between man and man or nation and nation.

"Certainly the women in every country, who are now under a profound imperative to preserve human life, have a right to regard this maternal impulse as important as was the compelling instinct evinced by primitive women, when they

made the first crude beginnings of society by refusing to share the vagrant life of man because they insisted upon a fixed abode in which they might cherish their children. Undoubtedly, women were then told that the interests of the tribe, the diminishing food supply, the honour of the chieftain, demanded that they leave their particular caves and go out in the wind and weather without regard to the survival of their children. But at the present moment the very names of the tribes and of the honours and glories which they defended are forgotten, while the basic fact that the mothers held the lives of their children above all else, insisted upon staying where the children had a chance to live, and cultivated the earth for their food, laid the foundation of an ordered human society.

"My son used to say jocularly that if I should forget all the science I did not know I should think more clearly. Undoubtedly, I am putting it badly, and my scientific knowledge is certainly irregular, but profound experiences such as we are having in this War throw to the surface of one's mind all sorts of opinions and half-formed conclusions. The care for conventions, for agreement with one's friends, is burned away. One is concerned to express only ultimate conviction, even though it may differ from all the rest of the world. This is true in spite of the knowledge that every word will be caught up in an atmosphere of excitement and of that nervous irritability which is always close to grief and to moments of high emotion.

"In the face of many distressing misunderstandings, I am, nevertheless, certain that if a majority of women in every country would clearly express their convictions, they would find that they spoke, not for themselves alone, but for those men for whom the War has been a laceration, 'an abdication of the spirit.' Such women would doubtless formulate the scruples of certain soldiers whose 'mouths are stopped by courage,' men who months ago with closed eyes rushed to the defence of their countries, but are now fighting behind a 'thick wall of certitudes' over which they dare not look.

"It may also be true that as the early days of this war fused us all into an overwhelming sense of solidarity until each felt absolutely at one with all his fellow-countrymen, so the sensitiveness to differences is greatly intensified and the dissenting individual has an exaggerated sense of isolation. I try to convince myself that this is the explanation of my abominable sense of loneliness which is almost unendurable.

"I have never been a feminist, and have always remained quite unmoved by the talk of the peculiar contribution women might make to the state, but during the last dreadful months, in spite of women's widespread enthusiasm for the War and their patriotic eagerness to make the supreme sacrifice, I have become conscious of an unalterable cleavage between militarism and feminism. The militarists believe that government finally rests upon a basis of physical force, and in a crisis such as this militarism, in spite of the spiritual passion in war, finds its expression in the crudest forms of violence.

"It would be absurd for women even to suggest equal rights in a world governed solely by physical force, and feminism must necessarily assert the ultimate supremacy of moral agencies. Inevitably, the two are in eternal opposition.

"I have always agreed with the feminists that, so far as force plays a great part in the maintenance of an actual social order, it is due to the presence of those elements which are in a steady process of elimination; and, of course, as society progresses the difficulty arising from woman's inferiority in physical strength must become proportionately less. One of the most wretched consequences of war is that it arrests these beneficent social processes and throws everything back into a coarser mould.

"The fury of war enduring but for a few months or years may destroy slow-growing social products which it will take a century to recreate—the 'consent of the governed,' for instance. . . . But why do I talk like this? My father would call it one of my untrained and absurd theories about social progress and the functions of government concerning which I know nothing, and that, at any rate, I have no right to discuss the latter in this time of desperate struggle. Nevertheless, it is better for me in these hideous long days and nights to drive my mind forward even to absurd conclusions than to let it fall into one of those vicious circles in which it goes round and round to no purpose."

WOMAN WRITER, Husband "C.O.," New Thought, Occult Student, wishes correspond woman similar tastes. Object friendship. Might offer congenial home, travel, after war. Would teach inquirer willing help working out ideas for fellowship on broad inclusive lines. Write "Libra," Offices of "Dreadnought."

"THE GENTLER DREAM OF MAEVE."

In an epoch like that through which the world is passing the revivifying of the ancient Irish legend, Maeve, the warrior Queen of Connaught, is not purposeless. In the "Death of Fionavar," Eva Gore-Booth carries us back into the mythic days which are so dear to every Irish heart, and especially now when the burden of reality is weighing so heavily. That Queen of bygone days knew no defeat but one: that of her failure to overcome Tir-nan-og (the land of eternal youth), which was supposed to border on her own territory. Maeve knew this promised land to weaken the zeal of her warriors for it was no other than the region of idealism, which is so foreign to bloodshed and all desire for territory. Many poets have sung of Tir-nan-og, where Ossian is fabled to have journeyed on a milk-white steed. After hundreds of years he returned and met with St. Patrick, the promulgator of Christendom in Ireland. No story can be more beautiful than that meeting of the pagan, and the Christian worlds, a meeting which Eva Gore-Booth also brings about symbolically in her drama.

The most touching scene is that when Maeve's daughter Fionavar, a child of sixteen, becomes impatient for her mother's return from the field of battle where she hopes to conquer her only surviving enemy Cuchulain, the fabulous Ulster hero. She rushes out to meet Maeve, to see her triumph, only to find for the first time what victory means and what the price is that the warriors must pay. Seeing this reality, she cried: "Is this the triumph of Maeve?" and fell dead for very pity. The girl's death causes the war-like Queen to realise that Fionavar had chosen the better part in choosing death. She begins to see what sorrow her brave warriors have suffered and her spirit longs for peace. She casts aside her royal robes and crown, thus freeing her heart and spirit to find Tir-nan-og, the land she had hitherto tried to conquer.

In a flash the whole mystery of unconquerable Ireland, the Sinn Fein movement, and those movements which were but the precursors of it, becomes elucidated. The Tir-nan-og, to which an Irish queen fell prone, lives and is still victorious. The indomitable spirit of the Irish has never succumbed to the tyranny of another race which British militarism has for generations sought to impose. Now that conscription for Ireland is in the air this drama comes like a message of warning from those to whom it is dedicated: "The Many who died for Freedom and the One who died for Peace."

I am afraid that the unique interpretation of the legend and the enthralling exposition thereof have made me quite overlook the authoress. It is perhaps praise of high quality to say that the conception of this drama made me forgetful of form and language—you who are not carried away by sentiment, may be the critics of these. Yet whilst under the spell of the legendary world into which Eva Gore-Booth so successfully wafted me, I feel her dramatic gift. It is one which makes her an acquisition to the modern Irish school of writers and dramatists.

If you would experience a delightful sensation of peace and hope, read it! It symbolises the victory of the spirit of Pacifism over that of Militarism.

M. O'C.

*Publishers: Erskine Macdonald. Price, 3s. 6d.

SCOTTISH NOTES

The West of Scotland has experienced a glorious revival for peace and democracy during the past week, the effect of which is bound to influence and encourage results all over the country. There has been a magnificent effort for peace in the North Ayrshire by-election followed by a series of meetings in and around Glasgow and the enthusiasm engendered by these has aroused a moral passion among the people that will expand and develop into a national movement which will bring satisfaction to the working classes in due course. The reaction against militarism has begun and will grow in favour and strength to such an extent that peace will be its natural result. The militarists, if we are to judge by the panic displayed in their press, are thoroughly alarmed at the awakening of the people from their war stupor and making a last effort to keep the citizens in that state of mental subjection which are necessary for the flourish of militarism and oppression. In vain! The people are beginning to regain their initiative for thought and action and the best and most striking evidence of that is the result in the North Ayrshire by-election in which the independent and pacifist candidate polled 1,300 votes in a total of 8,449. The actual result was:—

Hunter-Weston (Militarist) 7,149
Humphrey-Chalmers (Pacifist) 1,300

The poll is remarkably encouraging in view of the difficulties experienced by those responsible for the candidature of Mr. Chalmers. The constituency has invariably been a Tory preserve and in 1910 when a Labour candidate, with local influence and assisted by the organisation of the Labour Party and the Ayrshire Miners' Union, contested the division in a three-cornered contest he only polled 1,800 votes. On this occasion the independent candidate had no organised support and was opposed by the combined Liberal and Tory organisations. Neither had he any committee rooms, local influence, nor the assistance of any of that machinery usually placed at the disposal of a candidate; yet he polled 1,300 votes and that too on a three year old register! A stranger to the division and assisted only by a few friends, the pacifist recorded a vote which is a censure of the Government and a sign of better things to come. The North Ayrshire result is a blow to militarism and the militarists know it. Demos is awakening. When in the stress of war fever and the racial hatred

you have 1,300 voters in a backward constituency declaring for peace by negotiation there is hope. These courageous 1,300 electors of North Ayrshire have sent a message all over the country which will arouse hope in the hearts of even the most pessimistic. That message enables us to hear the beatings of the wings of the dove of peace as it sets out in its flight over the war stricken homes of Europe. But North Ayrshire is not our only source of hope.

ADULT SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION

There was the great Adult Suffrage demonstration in the City Hall, Glasgow, with its message to the Government that all men and women having alike borne the sorrows of war shall alike, and in co-operation, remove the traces of war and rebuild a nobler society than we have known before. The demonstration was arranged by the Workers' Suffrage Federation and the principal speakers were Sylvia Pankhurst and John Scurr. The gathering proved that the workers of Glasgow have found the need for the influence and practice of women in politics and that no attempt at democracy is possible which leaves women out of count. If women are competent to relieve men to take part in the destruction of Humanity they are competent to co-operate with men in the construction of the new society in which the waste of human life by war will be made impossible. Men and women must work for the enfranchisement of women, realising that the attainment of political freedom for women is the gateway to economic freedom for both. A home without a mother is often a desolate place: the State which spurns the political assistance of women is doomed to disorder. Just as the ideal home is made possible by the co-operation of men and women so in the same way will the ideal nation be realised. War is a masculine exorcism on the face of civilisation which will only be removed when the energy and wisdom of women are allowed free scope in the affairs of government.

Then we gained strength from the great meetings addressed by George Lansbury at Clydebank and Glasgow, on Sunday. Speaking to crowded audiences at both places Lansbury, the friend of all Humanity and "a lovable man," as a three year old boy said who met him, made an eloquent appeal to the men in the Labour and Trade Union movements to co-operate with women in the re-shaping of our country. In response to his request at Glasgow for new members of the I.L.P. there were handed in the names of 114 persons desirous of joining the party. It was a wonderful meeting and a glowing tribute to the sincerity of Lansbury's eloquent denunciation of poverty, war, and sham. Altogether he addressed six meetings at Glasgow and at each he imparted inspiration to his hearers and from them gained strength and hope for his labour on behalf of the oppressed and downtrodden. Probably nothing pleased him so much as the outcome of the Sale of Work, organised by women comrades that he opened and which realised £150 for the maintenance of the wife and two children of John McLean, who is serving a term of three years' imprisonment at Peterhead for an alleged breach of the Defence of the Realm Acts. The realisation of that £150 from working men and women showed that the common people do not neglect their friends in their hour of need and so long as that spirit prevails all persecution will recoil on the heads of the persecutors. Yes! It has been an encouraging week for those who are struggling nobly against militarism and with the enthusiasm which the week has engendered we will win through to peace. Our cause can never fail if men and women have faith in each other.

P. J. DOLLAN.

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PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

October 10th.—In reply to Mr. King, Mr. Lloyd George stated that 2,014 conscientious objectors had been tried by court-martial up to the present.

Mr. Herbert Lewis stated that twenty-six schools, both elementary and secondary, were taken for military purposes in July, August and September, 1916. The number of scholars affected was 15,961.

There can be small hope for progress in a country where militarism takes precedence of education.

Mr. King referring to the jingo incitements which constantly appear in the *Daily Express*, mentioned that damage had been done at the offices of the Peace Society, and asked that editors who incite to violence should be suitably warned. Mr. Herbert Samuel made light of the affair, window-breaking and smearing things with paint are trivial matters to him now; they were serious crimes in the days of militant suffragettes!

Mr. Runciman mentioned that 2,514 women clerks are employed by the Board of Trade.

With reference to the Irish prisoners at Frongoch Mr. Samuel said "I have not felt justified in reopening individual cases so soon after they had been examined by the Advisory Committee and continued internment recommended"; nevertheless he added that some of the prisoners may now be released on giving sureties "not to engage in any act of seditious character or any act calculated to hinder the successful prosecution of the war." Mr. Samuel knows that both those who desire complete independence for Ireland and those who are pacifists will shrink from binding themselves over not to do or say anything which the Government may choose to interpret in either of these ways. To sign the pledge is tantamount to promising to take no public action of any kind in the causes which the interned people hold dear.

MILITARY AND NAVAL PENSIONS.

The Statutory Committee has entered into an agreement with the Insurance Commissioners whereby all disabled soldiers and sailors shall be entitled to medical treatment whether previously insured or not, but the Treasury has not yet sanctioned the scheme. The training and employment of the men is arranged by the Statutory Committee in conjunction with the local education authorities. During his period of training the man is to have an "adequate maintenance grant," in addition to the allowance for his wife and family.

Disabled men and their families should see that they get these things.

Mr. Hayes Fisher said that the pensions of disabled men are not to be reduced on account of grants from voluntary funds if such grants do not form a permanent addition to the income of the recipient. The grants will not be much use unless they are permanent. But we want to see more adequate pensions paid by the State.

Mr. Bonar Law said that the establishment of one pensions authority for the United Kingdom is under consideration.

Mr. Bonar Law said that "progress had been made" in regard to the Allies Economic Conference at Paris. But the people are kept in the dark.

WHEAT.

The Government control of wheat was announced by Mr. Runciman because, in view of the possibility of large stores of grain that have been locked up by the War, in grain exporting countries being freed by the military operations, the ordinary private dealers refuse to accumulate stocks of grain which may be needed to save the people from starvation. Private enterprises refuse to run the risk of losing any money from patriotic motives. Mr. Runciman revealed the fact that the Australian Government which bought up stores of wheat to benefit the British people has had its granaries full because it was pretended that it was not worth while using British ships to fetch the grain. Now that the Government has taken over the wheat supply it is found worth while to send to Australia. We can only conclude that powerful interests were at work to prevent the import of Australian wheat lest it should bring prices down.

The rise in the cost of food between July, 1914 and September, 1916 was 65 per cent., the general increase in the cost of living 45 per cent. Yet we are told that the working classes whose wages have not risen 20 per cent. are better off than they ever were in their lives.

VESTED INTERESTS.

On the Committee stage of the Acquisition of Land Bill, vigorous arguments arose over those clauses which seemed likely to be to the advantage of the community and to the detriment of the private owner. The question of the acquisition of the surface by the Government without the mines and minerals underneath brings vividly to one's mind the injustice of any property owner having power to monopolise such necessities as coal, and the fact that if a man buys a cheap piece of land under which minerals are afterwards discovered he can claim the wealth entirely as his own.

A Bill to codify and consolidate the law relating to larceny, of which the public knows nothing, was read a second time. Hardly an M.P. had read the Bill in advance! This is not a war emergency measure, but property must be protected.

October 11th.—Mr. Forster made the position of the Non-Combatant Corps clear by stating that those men "have no claim to anything beyond their military pay when engaged on non-combatant Army work." Also that these men are to be engaged "on war work only"—a particularly cruel proviso to make in the case of conscientious objectors. The statement does not meet Mr. King's complaint that the men have been unloading ships for the Great Western Railway Company. Mr. Forster ignored the question as to whether the company is getting the services of these men at military pay.

PRIME MINISTER ON WAR AND PEACE.

Having told of the money that is being wasted on the war, Mr. Asquith gave an account of the military situation. Only those who have been to the front and know the secrets of commanders can effectively check and criticise such statements in detail, but there is no doubt that if the war is to be ended by present methods many months will pass and large numbers of lives will be sacrificed before peace is secured. For the definite statement as to the objects for which the Government is continuing the war and the terms it desires to impose Mr. Asquith substituted his accustomed frothy peroration, for which he is always so much praised by Lord Northcliffe's press. He said: "War is, as we know too well, a terrible and wasteful thing justified only by the greatness of its cause. That

greatness is measured not merely by the costliness of the sacrifices which the nation is ready to incur, but more by the worthiness of the ends for which those sacrifices are poured out."

We ask what cause, what ends?

"This long and sombre procession of cruelty," he said, "cannot be allowed to end in some patched-up, precarious, dishonouring compromise, masquerading under the name of Peace."

But what is a "patched-up peace," and what is the peace Mr. Asquith and his Government desire? Mr. Asquith added that "the ends of the Allies are well known; they have been frequently and precisely stated." But all over the country people are asking "What are the aims, for pity's sake say what they are?"

The reason why the terms and the ends are not stated are, of course, because they are not such as to justify in the eyes of the mass of the people the continuing of the war. Sir Edward Carson, who is not afraid to flout the more democratic and humane sections of popular opinion, threw some light upon the mystery when in following the Prime Minister he said: "I think it right that this country should turn its attention to the fact which is now patent and has been patent for a long time, that the aggression of the German Government is not directed merely towards Europe, but is also directed towards the Balkans with a view to ultimate aggression in the East where we are so deeply concerned." Yes, it "has been patent for a long time." English capitalists have India and Egypt to exploit, French capitalists exploit Morocco, German capitalists, too, want territory to exploit, but Russia and her Allies bar the way!

CARSON REVEALS THE DANGER SPOT.

Sir Edward Carson called for more "man power" to send to the slaughter; he urged conscription for Ireland. "Every sacrifice we make in the trenches," he said, "is a clear call from the trenches to do more and more. More and more we will do. . . . Yes more and more to coerce and to sacrifice others, but will Sir Edward Carson agree to the conscription of wealth; will he agree to a peace that will secure freedom for the peoples without regard to capitalist interests, whether British or foreign?"

HOUSTEN'S HYPOCRISY.

Mr. Hosten, the shipper, who is always to be found voting in favour of vested interests and against any kind of reform, complained that a new war loan at a higher rate of interest has not been issued. He said that he was "not thinking of the millionaires but of the working classes," the "poor widows," and "humble artisans," who had invested their money at 5 per cent. and now wanted more. He complained of the Government's interference with private shipping. Oh! quite disinterestedly, of course, and called for Africans, Belgians, Russians, and other foreigners to fight in the glorious British Army and win the War. He urged that the Basutos, the Zulus and other South Africans enjoy all the "privileges of the British flag and all the privileges of freedom." Oh, oh, Mr. Hosten, try to be accurate in what you say!

ARMY CONTRACTS.

Sir Maurice Levy referred to the Army contract scandals and demanded that the spending department of the Quartermaster-General should be overhauled. He pointed out that large contracts had been placed with firms that had no means of executing them, that the firms have let and sub-let the contract many times, and that every sub-letting meant a reduction on the wages of those who had to do the work. He contended that honest viewers would not be obtained at the War Office wage of 36s. a week and urged that "incompetent military men are not the men to have at the head of great business concerns."

SITTING ON THE FENCE.

Mr. Holt made a protest against the brutal and aggressive language of Mr. Lloyd George's recent interview with an American pressman. Unfortunately Mr. Holt adopted so ambiguous an attitude that his attack degenerated into a mere petty argument on phraseology. Mr. Lloyd George easily thrust his criticisms aside because Mr. Holt had not even the courage to demand a negotiated Peace.

October 12th.—The long drawn-out negotiations regarding the exchange of British prisoners formed the subject of questions put by Messrs. Malcolm, Peto, and Sir Charles Henry. Mr. J. Hope, Treasurer of the House, stated that the American Embassy was doing its best, "but unfortunately the decision does not rest either with us or them." Meanwhile the poor prisoners are becoming ill and mentally deranged!

Mr. Outhwaite asked whether M. Briand, the French Prime Minister, had informed the Greek Minister in Paris that Italy had strongly opposed the inclusion of Greece in the Alliance. Lord R. Cecil had no information. Such questions were "undesirable," Carson protested. Members shouted at Outhwaite, and Stanton exclaimed: "Why do you not choke these pacifists down?"!!!

The Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Duke, stated that under an order of the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief of the forces in Ireland, no parade, procession, or political meeting shall take place anywhere in Ireland without a written authority.

Mr. Barnes drew attention to the exorbitant milk prices now prevailing, and said that a circular had been issued by the Christchurch Branch of the Somerset, Wiltshire and Dorset Farmers' Association which recommends farmers to give the milk to the pigs for a time, should the dairymen not come to terms.

Mr. Runciman made the usual helpless remarks. The Speaker, who at times shows a surprising absence of impartiality, interrupted: "We really must pass on."

The complaint was lodged by Major Hunt that grocers use the sugar shortage to compel poor people to buy other articles which they do not want before they may get sugar. Mr. McKenna defended the practice on the ground of shortage, but admitted that the amount of other goods to be purchased with sugar was left to the discretion of individual traders. He promised to consult the Sugar Commission upon the subject.

Mr. Byrne stated that at present in Ireland over 2,000 school teachers receive salaries of £34 a year. Mr. Duke had not time to devote to such details; but said that the whole matter is under the serious consideration of the Commissioners of Education in Ireland.

Meanwhile, if Mr. Byrne's figures are correct, these teachers must be starving!

FRANCHISE AND REGISTRATION.

Mr. Asquith, in reply to Mr. Rupert Gwynne, said that it is the intention of the Government to press on the Registration Bill, "subject, of course, to arrangement," the amendment to enable soldiers and sailors to vote on

active service "is engaging the serious and sympathetic attention of the Government."

Mr. Gwynne wanted something more definite, and asked the Prime Minister to confirm Lord Lansdowne's statement that a separate Bill to amend the Ballot Act will be introduced.

Mr. Asquith said that a Bill would be introduced to carry out his pledge to Carson to amend the Ballot Act so as to enable soldiers and others who had left their homes to record their votes in this country. An amendment to enable soldiers at the front to vote would be in order.

Sir Francis Lowe asked: "Will the Report of the Committee that is considering the question of registration and other questions be received before the Bill is framed?"

Sir Edward Carson: "You mean will it be received before the War is over?"

The Prime Minister: "That question should be addressed to Mr. Speaker."

Mr. Billing asked, in view of the Prime Minister's promise of the Government's sympathetic support to the recording of votes at the front, that it should be made clear that the men would get the vote.

The Prime Minister: "I did not say sympathetic support, I said sympathetic consideration."

Colonel Norton Griffiths declared that peace cannot come within one year as a minimum and two years as a maximum.

Mr. Trevelyan urged that though "the sanguine Welsh temperament may think that the Germans may be driven out of France in a few months," others believe it will take years and involve three million British casualties. A war of attrition might be all very well when, as at Verdun, "the principal attrition was hundreds of thousands of Germans; but part of the attrition now is hundreds of thousands of British men." The published casualties for the last three months were 300,000. Dealing with Mr. Lloyd George's statement that intervention between the combatant nations by any neutral would be construed as an "unneutral pro-German move," Mr. Trevelyan said that Britain was supposed to be fighting as a defender of treaties and international decisions, whilst Germany ought to have appealed to The Hague Tribunal at the beginning of the War. But it was further decided by the Second Hague Conference that:

"The contracting powers (of which Great Britain, of course, was one) deem it expedient that one or more Powers—strangers to the dispute—should, on their own initiative and as far as circumstances may allow, offer their good offices or mediation to the States at variance."

"Powers strangers to the dispute have the right to offer good offices or mediation even during the course of hostilities."

"The exercise of this right can never be regarded by either of the parties to the dispute as an unfriendly act." Here was an international agreement with which Mr. Lloyd George's policy did not tally.

Mr. Trevelyan urged that intervention by America or other neutrals ought not to be rebuffed, and quoted President Wilson's declaration of willingness to mediate. He said that peace feeling was growing in Germany and that a great anti-annexation petition is being signed there. He asked whether "before this War is finished we have got to go in for a policy of conquest, the policy of the conquest of Constantinople which has nothing to do with self-government, nationality or racial independence."

No Member of the Government replied to this question, but Mr. Ronald McNeill, one of the most impetuous of the Tory jingoes, took up the challenge and spoke of the "fulfilment" of Russian policy and the Slav taking the place of the Ottoman, and the Cross that of the Crescent, as though acknowledging these as worthy reasons for prolonging the War. The wild and fantastic ambitions of our rulers are carrying us very far!

In reply to Mr. Barnes, Mr. McKinnon Wood explained that the Government had decided to grant a war bonus, dating from July 1st last, to all full-time employees of Government Departments, excepting—

- (1) Those who have already received increases in wages on the ground of war conditions; and
- (2) Those who have engaged during the War at rates with reference to War conditions.

The bonus amounts to 4s. a week to adult male employees with not more than 40s. per week, and 3s. to those with more than 40s. and not more than 60s. weekly. "Half these rates to women and persons under 18 years of age." Such differentiation is only another proof—if such were wanted—that voteless women are, and will be, unjustly treated.

The case of Private Walter Compton, a prisoner in Göttingen Camp, who is reported to have been ill-treated and finally shot for refusing to work, was brought forward by Mr. Stanton. Terrible as is the alleged crime, we must remind Mr. Stanton that the spirit which makes such occurrences possible is the same which animates him when he cries: "Choke down the pacifists!"

The report stage of the Vote of Credit was taken. Sir H. Dalziel spoke against allowing some people to make hundreds of thousands of pounds, and even millions, which is always at the expense of overworked men. His objection, however, to this wrong seemed to be mainly that because of it speeches in favour of peace gained a sympathetic hearing from workpeople!

HORSES v. MEN.

Colonel Lockwood, Sir George Greenwood and Sir Frederick Banbury complained that Army horses no longer fit for service at the front are sold to French peasant proprietors and Arab cab drivers in Cairo. These gentlemen waxed eloquent and indignant over the sufferings of the poor horses which, after serving at the front, are sold to "work till they die" in order that the British Government may gain some £300,000 by the sale of them. But is it worse that after serving at the front a horse should work for the rest of his life than that this should be the lot of the soldier? And what of the soldier discharged medically unfit without pension? The voices of these gentlemen were not raised on behalf of the Old-Age pensioners. And after all it seems to us a contrary thing to send a horse into battle to be shot at and then complain that someone makes it work!

Mr. Adamson told of many sad cases of injustice to soldiers and their families, and said one would imagine that some of these regulations have been brought into existence for making it as difficult as possible for our injured men to get justice.

SEX DISCRIMINATION.

Mr. Ashley complained that assistant viewers at the Royal Army Clothing Department, Pimlico, are only paid 21s. a week, and that the women doing the same work only get 19s. The same is the case with clerks; men get £3 2s., whilst women doing the same work are only

(continued on back page, col. 2)

THE WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

To secure Human Suffrage, namely, a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People.

Entrance Fee ... 1d.
Minimum Subscription ... 1d. a month

LONDON MEETINGS.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 20th.
"Whitehouse," 3.30 p.m., Miss Lynch.
Bow Women's Hall, 7.45 p.m., Lecture, Discussion.
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 21st.
Grundy Street, 11 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Hague Street, 3 p.m., Miss Price.
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 22nd.
Osborn Street, 11.30 a.m., Miss Price.
Outside Old Town Hall, Barking, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Hyde Park, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Davies, Miss O'Callaghan.
The Square, Woolwich, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall, Miss Lynch.
Bow Women's Hall, 7 p.m., Public Meeting.
MONDAY, OCTOBER 23rd.
Club Row, 1 p.m., Miss Price.
Green Gate, 4 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 24th.
Bonner Lane, 11.30 a.m., Miss Lynch.
The Triangle, Barking, 1 p.m., Miss Price.
Bow Women's Hall, 8 to 10 p.m., Reading Room.
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 25th.
51 St. Leonard's Street, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
Poplar Women's Hall, 8.15 p.m., Lecture, Discussion.
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 26th.
The Triangle, Barking, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Poplar Women's Hall, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Shlette.
Chandos Hall, 3.30 p.m., At Home.
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27th.
"Whitehouse," 3.30 p.m., Miss Lynch.
The Triangle, Barking, 4 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Bow Women's Hall, 7.45 p.m., Lecture, Discussion.
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 28th.
The Triangle, Barking, 3.30 p.m., Miss Price.
Grundy Street, 11 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 29th.
Hyde Park, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall, Miss Lynch.
Hampstead, "Jack Straw's Castle," 3.30 p.m., Miss Somers, Mrs. Bouvier.
The Concert Hall, Public Baths, Barking, 7 p.m., Public Meeting.

W.S.F. BRANCHES.

Bow, 400 Old Ford Road. Secretary, Miss Price. Dreadnought sales week ending October 14th, 660. Miss Harriet, 206; Miss O'Brien, 140; Miss Mackay, 40; Miss Price, 40; Mrs. Green, 36; Miss Lynch, 36; Mrs. Farrall, 12; General, 120.
CONTRAST.—A winter class is being started to study "Woman and Labour" by Olive Schreiner. At the last North-West Durham Labour Party Conference, the W.S.F. was represented by this branch, it was the only women's organisation that took part.

W.S.F. FORTHCOMING EVENTS

A series of educative lectures on Economics, Trade Unionism, History of Socialism, National Guilds, &c., has been organised by Mrs. Herbergova to take place at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E., on Friday evenings at 7.45. The lectures are:—

- Oct. 28th. MR. WALTON NEWBOLD, "THE CONQUEST OF ECONOMIC POWER."
- " 29th. Miss Mabel Lawrence, "The History of British Socialism."
- Nov. 3rd. Mr. J. Fineberg (B.S.P.), "Theory of Karl Marx."
- " 10th. Mrs. Lafitte-Cyon, "French Revolution."
- " 17th. Mrs. Lafitte-Cyon, "French Revolution."
- " 24th. Miss Mabel Lawrence, "International Socialism."
- Dec. 1st. Mr. G. D. H. Cole, "Trade Unions. Next Step, National Guilds."
- " 15th. Professor Masaryk, "Tolstol's Philosophy of Religion."

Mr. John Scurr has kindly arranged to give a course of lectures entitled, "The Growth of the English People," on Wednesday evenings, at 8.30 prompt, in the Women's Hall, 20 Railway Street, Poplar, E. The subjects are:—

- Oct. 25th. "THE SPACIOUS DAYS OF ELIZABETH."
- Nov. 1st. "The Building of the Constitution."
- " 8th. "The Beginning of Empire."
- " 15th. "The Industrial Revolution."
- " 22nd. "The Triumph of the Middle Class."
- " 29th. "The Uplift of Labour."

We hope that members and friends will make a point of attending. Admission free.

Meeting on Sunday, October 22nd, 7 p.m., at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow. Speakers, Miss Lynch, Mrs. Cressall. Chair, Mrs. Drake.

Every Thursday in October and November At Homes will be held at Chandos Hall (21a Maiden Lane). October 26th, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Rosa Hobhouse, "Necessary Evils—an Illusion"; Mr. Tom Richardson, M.P. Chair Miss O'Callaghan. November 2nd, Miss Evelyn Sharp (U.S.), "The Preponderance of Women and its Relation to their Social and Political Status." Mr. J. A. Hobson (U.D.C.), "Trade War." Chair, Miss Pankhurst.

CAXTON HALL EXHIBITION

Caxton Hall Exhibition, December 7th, 8th, and 9th, from 3 to 10 p.m. daily.

The stalls are as follows:—

Children's garments; general garments; curios; fancy goods; fruit and flowers; farm produce; groceries; sweets; refreshments and teas; toys and brasserie; books and general literature.

Friends are asked to help in stocking and taking these stalls and in making the Exhibition known. We tender our best thanks to Lady

Battersea, Messrs. Edward Cook and Co., Ltd., Mrs. Richmond, Messrs. John Knight and Co., for their kind gifts of goods and clothes; to Mr. E. O. Hoppe, F.R.P.S., for promising to act as judge; and to those who have already agreed to take charge of stalls and help in other ways. Readers and friends are invited to take part in the photographic competitions. Communications should be addressed to the Exhibition Secretary, Miss Sonia Rodker, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

PARLIAMENT (continued from page 575.)

paid 21s. to 25s. a week. He said: "I ask the Secretary for War, is that fair? If you take a woman to do a man's work, and it is reported that she does the work equally well, have you any right to pay her less wages than you paid to the man? I do not think you ought to discriminate between the sexes in this way."

Mr. Llewelyn Williams pointed out that what those who opposed conscription predicted has happened; the figures given in the Derby Report were without foundation, two Military Service Acts have not satisfied the conscriptionists, and now Sir Edward Carson is declaring that there are 600,000 men (the same number as the Derby estimate of single men) who may be got from Ireland by conscription.

Mr. Gordon Harvey asked that in future proclamations under the Defence of the Realm Act should be circulated to Members of Parliament. He pointed out that the Proclamation of April gave power to prohibit public meetings in public places "where there appears to be reason to apprehend" disorder, but that the proclamation of October 3rd had given the power to prohibit any meeting, wherever held. "The foundations of liberty are at stake," said Mr. Harvey, and recalled the fact that Mr. Lloyd George carried on a propaganda in opposition to the Boer War.

Mr. Herbert Samuel tried to gloss the matter over. His prohibitions were only meant for "special meetings."

Mr. Anderson again protested against the persistent enlistment of the unfit who are quickly broken down and then discharged without pension.

OUTTHWAITE ON THE "FIGHT TO A FINISH."

Mr. Outthwaite declared that every man who advocated a fight to a finish policy should be in the trenches. He had no sympathy with Irish M.P.s who professed enthusiastic support for that policy, but resisted conscription in Ireland, with Labour leaders who advocated it at Trade Union Congresses and then got themselves exempted from military service, or with Members of Parliament drawing a pound a day. Colonel Norton Griffiths had advocated African labour for this country, France was already importing thousands of Kafirs and Chinese to make good the loss of white workmen. The fight to a finish policy would necessitate more of this. Those who supported this policy should carry it out to the provision of the last shilling, but not at 6 per cent., a rate of interest that makes the rich man richer than before. He scouted the idea that if the War were ended now Germany would begin preparing for the next war, declaring that the present War had been too costly in men and money to allow of that in any belligerent country, and predicting that after this War the forces of revolution will sweep throughout Europe over the issue as to "who is to pay for this wild debauch of blood." The only party which appeared to have any appreciation of what is coming was the Conservative Party of Russia, which, at its recent congress, had asked for peace with Germany because if the War went on till Prussian militarism was crushed it would mean the fall of the monarchical systems of Europe. In his opinion the War originated "in the struggle between the Teutonic and Slavonic Empires for the virtual reversion of the decadent Turkish Empire." It was mainly a fight for Russia to obtain possession of Constantinople, and the fact of London bound all the allies to fight on until the objects of each and all of them were attained.

AN EAST END STRIKE

Five hundred men and women struck work at Schneider's Clothing Factory in Whitechapel on October 9th. The dispute was caused by the firm's announcement that the workers must in future buy their own trimmings which must be bought from Schneiders, who charge more than the price at other firms, i.e., cotton, which at Lottery's costs 4½d. is 10½d. at Schneider's.

Schneider's offered increased rates of pay to compensate for the new rule that workers must pay for the trimmings, but the workers declared that they would be the losers by the proposed change.

The old and new rates were as follows:—

Old Rates.—Tunics, 1s. 1d.; greatcoats, 1s. 2d.
New Rates.—Tunics, 1s. 2½d., less 3½d. to 4d. for trimmings; greatcoats, 1s. 4d., less 4½d. for trimmings.

The workers had many other grievances, and all sorts of petty tyrannies and extortions were practised upon them. Cotton, for which they used to pay 4½d. was now charged to them at 10½d. The Unemployment Insurance contribution of 2½d., which the employer may legally deduct from the worker's wages was increased by Schneider's to 3d. Threepence a week was also deducted for "charities" until a protest was made. Both men and women workers found it necessary to bribe the foreman in order to get work enough to keep them occupied and to retain their posts. In addition to the rectifying of these injustices the workers demanded:—

- (1) That the firm should supply trimmings.
- (2) That the workers should not be held responsible for breakages which are not caused through their fault.
- (3) That the workers should be humanely treated and properly spoken to.
- (4) That no worker who took part in the dispute should be victimised.
- (5) That workers refused to work with those who had not come out on strike with them.

After a week's strike, Schneider's had conceded every point, but that in regard to buying the trimmings, but the workers refused to compromise. On Monday afternoon, October 16th, Schneider's broke off negotiations, but tried to

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Dr. Tchayovsky, Langham House, Harrow, or Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND.—Charles Rowley, Esq., £2 2s.; Mrs. M. Widdicombe, £1; Mrs. Mary Parr, 10s. COLLECTIONS: Mr. G. T. Jones (Auckland), £6 12s.; Chandos Hall, 4s. 1d.; Bow Women's Hall, 2s. 4d. Osborn Street, 2s. 1½d.; Salmon Lane, 1s. 4d.

DREADNOUGHT FUND.—Mrs. Eva Green, 10s.; Mrs. Hickmott, 10s.; Miss Janet Mardon, 5s.; Miss Boden, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. F. Thomas, 2s.; Mrs. Brimley, 1s. COLLECTIONS: Poplar Members, £2 2s. 6d.; Joyce Halley (61 years), 5s.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Mrs. Singer (68 years), £3 18s., savings £1 12s.; L.M.H., £1 1s.; Mrs. Robert Whyte, £1 1s.; per Miss E. J. Weir (monthly), £1; Nurse Hebbes, 12s.; Miss Emily Kyly, 12s.; H. W. Dickinson, Esq., 11s.; Dr. Gytton, 10s.; Miss Ada Goodall, 10s.; Mrs. Dickinson, 5s., and sale of pears, 1s.; Mrs. Empson (monthly), 5s.; Mrs. Heywood Bright (weekly), 5s.; Mrs. Leon, 5s.; Miss Maud de la Haye, 5s.; Mrs. Gillies (monthly), 4s.; Mrs. Griffiths, 3s.; C. K. Eley, Esq., 2s. 6d.; Miss O. M. Fontaine, 2s. 6d.; Douglas H. Dickinson, 1s.; Mrs. Brimley, 1s. COLLECTIONS: The Ancoats Brotherhood, per Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, £5 10s.; Women of Central Telegraph Office, £5; Sheila Matthews (11 years), £2; Tool Room, £1 11s. 4½d.; Mothers at Bow Clinic, 13s.; Miss Lagading, 14s. 6d.; Miss A. L. Bennett, 14s.; Miss L. Burroughs, 10s.

EXHIBITION FUND.—Dr. Bramley Moore, £1; Birmingham Women Telegraphists, 12s. 3d.; The Misses Allen-Brown, 10s.

CLOTHES.—Mrs. Lelacheur, Miss Barbara Lutyens, Miss G. Ryly.

GROCERIES.—Hampstead National Food Fund.

MEDICINE TINS, &c.—A Friend.

GIFTS FOR EXHIBITION.—Mrs. Richmond.

In sending a donation, Mr. W. A. Jameson, of R.M.S. "Philomel," writes: "I have been stricken a second time with malaria fever and am now lying in Muscat Hospital, in the Persian Gulf. I know how the price of paper has gone up, but to see the DREADNOUGHT go down—why, never!"

"Your paper is like a breath of fresh air; I simply could not do without it now. The paper was recommended to me by my dear friend Olive Schreiner."

MOTHERS AND BABIES.

THE MOTHERS' ARMS,

438 OLD FORD ROAD, BOW.

Day nursery from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m. Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Mondays, 2.30 p.m. Mothers and babies can consult Nurse at any time.

20 RAILWAY STREET, POPLAR

(opposite South Bromley Station).

Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Tuesdays, 3 p.m. Nurse may be seen at any time.

53 ST. LEONARD'S STREET, BROMLEY-BY-BOW.

Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Tuesdays, 2 p.m.

124 BARKING ROAD, CANNING TOWN.

Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Tuesdays, 4 p.m.

All mothers and children are welcome.

COST PRICE RESTAURANTS at 400 Old Ford Road, and 20 Railway Street. Dinners from 12 till 2 p.m. daily.

WANTS.

Subscriptions to the milk and food fund. Doctoring and nursing can help little if mothers and children are unable to obtain the nourishment that is ordered. New laid eggs, barley, glazo, virol, for invalids. Medicine bottles, clothing and shoes for adults and boys and girls of all ages.

For baby, four gowns, four barrows, two flannel bands, twelve napkins, three vests, and a cot blanket; for mother, two nightgowns, woollen shawl, three towels, two sheets, and a pair of pillow cases.

Growing plants, flowers and branches for all our centres and for the L.C.C. schools. We should be grateful to friends who would supply us regularly. We also need vegetables and fruit.

More cupboards are needed at all our centres.

Nurse needs empty medicine bottles at her dispensary.

Health Talks to Mothers are held the first and third Fridays in the month at 3 p.m., at the Mothers' Arms.

RESPECTABLE WOMAN is offered place as caretaker and cleaner.—Apply, 45 Norman Road, Bow, E.

Joint Meeting of the W. S. F. and Barking Trades Council and Labour Representation Committee

at the

PUBLIC BATHS CONCERT HALL,

BARKING on OCTOBER 29th at 7 p.m.

Speakers: MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST

Mrs. BOYCE

MR. F. SEYMOUR COCKS

MR. E. C. FAIRCHILD

Chair: MRS. DRAKE

Admission Free

AN EAST END STRIKE (continued)

persuade some of the women to start work by telling them that if they earned less than before under the new arrangement their wages would be made up to the old amount. The women refused to go back without the men. On Tuesday morning the employers conceded all demands. The workers have joined the I.W.W.

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